

New Worker's Organization Formed

Three hundred delegates representing different labor divisions from each of Mozambique's ten provinces gathered in the nation's capital at the end of October. They were participants in the constitutional conference to establish Mozambique's first post-independence workers' union to be known as the Organization of Mozambican Workers (OTM).

But as President Machel reminded those present, the tasks and responsibilities of a workers organization in a developing country must be different from those in already developed countries - where there is no hunger, long lines for goods or war.

Before independence, according to the president, "in the colonies the most brutal capitalist exploitation associated itself with the humiliation of occupation of the motherland and with racism" and "because of this the struggle here assumed many times, a double aspect - the struggle to get concessions from the boss and the struggle against colonialism". The period between 1917 and 1926 saw many Mozambican worker strikes and revolts which resulted in indiscriminate massacres but not many concessions. Workers came to see that to act against one employer or company was useless unless there was some united action to rid themselves of colonialism itself.

As Mariano Matsinho, chairperson of the conference noted in his address - in the era of "colonial-facism it was not possible to have intermediate solutions". The Armed Struggle was "the first time", in their history that "the Mozambican workers encountered an organized form which was able to channel their resistance." It was these workers "organized into the Front that won power in Mozambique."

The fore-runner to the unions now being established were the Production Councils which were set up in 1976 in factories and other work places throughout Mozambique. Before them Grupos Dinamizadores (dynamizing groups) created at independence functioned in each work place with the responsibility of neutralizing colonial-capitalist maneuvers which were taking place all over the country at that time. During this period remaining colonialists were engaged in economic sabotage including fraudulent ways of diverting money from their companies to bank accounts in Portugal as well as the destruction of equipment vital to the continued functioning of a company they would leave behind when

they abandoned the country.

The organization of the Production Councils were seen as a way to destroy the capitalist relationships of production by guaranteeing workers' participation in the planning and control of production. The Production Councils also addressed such issues as the upgrading of poor installations, the provision of social services to workers - lunch rooms, social centers, and day care centers - and the creation of structures to respond to special workers' problems.

The creation of Mozambican unions is seen as a giant step taken to carry the idea of workers' participation to a new level. The new unions will draw upon the experiences of the Production Councils. The objectives of the new unions are to increase the organization of the working class, reinforce the alliance between workers and peasants and to contribute to a more concerted action between the workers' organization and State power.

Unions will also be expected to challenge productivity among workers, to provide programs to increase the technical, scientific and political training of workers, to organize worker initiatives for participation in the Popular Militias and vigilance groups, as well as to address such diverse problems as those faced by the aged worker or mothers who work.

In the new workers' structure the National Conference, which will meet every five years, will be the supreme organ. Also functioning at the national level will be the Central Council, the Secretariat and The Control and Discipline Committees. At the local level the OTM will have three grades - the Section, the Production Unit and the Work Center. The task over the next five years will be to get the unions functioning at all levels.

The biggest responsibility of the unions as seen by the party is to raise the conscienceness of the workers to understand that more food and more products are only possible if the workers are organized to produce more. Workers organized are the major factor in winning the battle being fought to improve the national economy.

President Machel characterised the new Mozambican's Workers Organization as schools of national unity. "The combat for the consolidation of National Unity is today, as yesterday, a decisive combat on which the future of the Revolution depends." ■

South Africa Behind Maputo Bombing

South Africa escalated its war against frontline states in mid-October with an attack on an apartment building in the Mozambican capital of Maputo. Three closely placed bombs exploded on the roof of a four-story apartment building on Rua General Pereira d'Eca, near its intersection with Avenida Mao Tse-Tung. The Mozambican News Agency, AIM, reported that five people were injured, none of them seriously.

According to AIM, the building that was targeted in the October 17 attack housed a library run by the African National Congress that is used for the distribution of ANC publications to the international media and members of the diplomatic corp in Mozambique. The Mozambican government also reported, shortly after the blast, that three of those injured were ANC members while the other two were Mozambicans.

In announcing the attack, South African Defense Minister Magnus (Continued on page 2)

Rain Falls but Food Shortage Continues

Torrential rain fell over the three provinces of southern Mozambique hardest hit by drought. In November and December heavy rains swelled many of the formerly dust-dry streams throughout the region. But the rain came too late to save crops which had been planted earlier in the year and left the northern provinces as dry as before. Food shortages still continue to plague dozens of districts.

According to the Vice-President of the Commission of the Prevention and Combat of Natural Calamities, Aranda da Siva, Mozambique needs more than 250 tons of cereals over the next five months. He believes that the

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MAPUTO BOMBING

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Malan reported that a "small task force" of troops attacked a penthouse in central Maputo which he claimed housed offices used in the planning of ANC attacks inside South Africa. Malan also reported that the apartment is close to a house used by Mozambican President Samora Machel and is also near a major military base, indicating, he said, Pretoria's ability to strike at will in neighboring countries.

The Mozambican government immediately took issue with the South African account, noting that it was widely known that the apartment buildings contained residences, the ANC library, and a clinic used by the liberation movement. The government's report was later confirmed by foreign workers who live nearby. The ANC's United Nations representative Mfanafuti Makatini also told **Mozambican Notes** that the building contained the movement's library.

The Mozambican government also took issue with Malan's characterization of the bombing as a daring commando raid. The government reported that no special commando missions had been detected that morning and officials suggested that the attacks appeared to be the work of South African saboteurs based in Maputo.

Samora Machel, on an official visit to France at the time of the raid, issued a strong condemnation of the raid. Also, the Mozambican government wrote a letter to the United Nations Secretary General requesting a formal U.N. protest. Mozambican officials suggested that the reason for the South Africans describing the raid as they did was to placate its white electorate who, at the time were about to vote in an important referendum.

The US government issued a statement deploring the raid and "maintaining our position that violence is not the answer to the region's problems." A State Department source, asked by **Mozambican Notes** to comment on the raid, would not confirm or deny that an official protest had been lodged with the South African government, but would only say that "we have made our views known to the states in the region."

France, Portugal and Britain issued statements condemning the attack.

On December 7, two South African refugees were seriously injured when an explosion completely destroyed the wood and zinc house in which they slept at three in the morning. The house was located in the Xipamanine area of Maputo. A communique issued in Zambia by the African National Congress of South Africa accused the regime in South Africa with responsibility. ■

MNR Captives Freed

The devastating effects of the drought in Mozambique have obscured the relatively successful anti-terrorist campaign that the government has been waging against the South African backed MNR. The campaign, launched earlier this year, in 1983, was the culmination of a new military strategy in which 1500 former freedom fighters were organized into counterinsurgency units, civilian militias were revitalized and new provincial military commanders appointed. The newly appointed commanders brought with them a record of substantial achievements as freedom fighters during the war of independence as well as deep familial and ethnic ties to the provinces in which they were assigned.

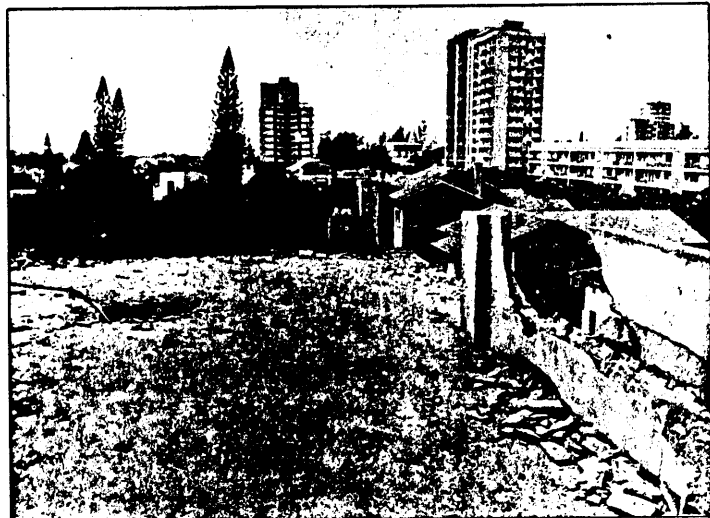
Restructuring the military and reinvigorating the militia, according to senior Mozambican officials, proved decisive in thwarting a major southern MNR offensive at the beginning of 1983. Between February and August 1983 Mozambican troops killed or captured almost 500 South African backed terrorists and overran the principal MNR supply and logistics base in Inhambane province. Recent reports also indicate that the government offensive in Zambezia - the nations most populous and economically important province - has, at least momentarily, disrupted MNR activity there.

The Mozambican forces freed a number of foreigners and Mozambicans held captive at the MNR bases. The 12 eyewitness accounts graphically illustrate the terrorist tactics which the MNR used to intimidate the rural population and provides additional evidence that the MNR is a military arm of Pretoria. (See **Mozambican Notes**, September 1983)

Alexandre Julai Mbanuili a 43 year old peasant and father of six recounted that "as soon as they (MNR) set up here they helped themselves to everything the people had, cattle, goats, chickens everything they could eat. They went into every house and lifted whatever they felt like, furniture, radios, bicycles, clothes. Anyone who protested was beaten up." Narendra Bima Nhay, a Portuguese citizen of Asian descent suffered similar abuses. Travelling on the main road in Inhambane with his mother and grandmother his car was ambushed and hit by a bazooka. "They took everything we had including our shoes" he recalled. "I was wounded and loosing blood, but they only banded my leg after I had fainted." During his 4 month captivity Nhay and his family were held under constant guard in a room 4 meters by 4 meters. They heard tales of plunder and how the peasants were so intimidated that even rumors of their impending arrival precipitated panic and flight.

Nhay and another Portuguese prisoner, Eduardo Ribeiro, noted that the MNR made no effort to hide their links to South Africa. On the contrary they spoke openly of the training they received at a South African military base in Pharabowa located near the Mozambican border and reminisced about the "large quantities of bread, cheeses and jams which their white officers provided." Both Portuguese citizens observed that many of the MNR recruits had been forcibly interned and were warned "that if they ran away and surrendered to the Mozambican forces they would be shot as terrorists," (John Burleson A British Ecologist held captive by the MNR at another base, reported a similar MNR strategy to prevent flight). In February 300 of the new recruits, chosen because they had a minimum of 5 years of schooling were sent for training in South Africa. Nhay was told that they had left from the Inhambane coast in small boats which ferried them out to a larger South African vessel well out to sea. He also witnessed a South African airdrop of ten crates of war material primarily machine guns, bazookas and

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Roof of building damaged by bomb explosion in Maputo.

MNR CAPTIVES FREED

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small arms and ammunitions, on August 12, 1983. Ribeiro indicated that on several occasions South African planes landed white military instructors, officers and medical personnel at a makeshift runway 25-30 kilometers from the base at which he was being held.

In short, their testimony confirms South Africa's escalating efforts to strangle Mozambique at the very same time that it is intensifying pressure on Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. ■

Improving Conditions for Tourism

Before independence, Mozambique's beautiful beach resorts and sandy white ocean sides were used by scores of white South African and Rhodesian tourists, who also crossed the border to reach the nightclubs and strip joints of the old Lourenco Marques, the game park near Beira and the fishing spots along the coast.

Today the development of tourism in Mozambique goes hand in hand with the development of the nation in general. Following independence, many of the most notorious nightclubs were closed or revamped. Because of the military situation between Mozambique and Rhodesia, and later between Mozambique and South Africa entrance by many of the former tourists was restricted and new tourist sources explored.

The Secretary of State for Tourism, Antonio Materul recently visited several provinces to assess the situation of tourism in Mozambique. Weak professional training of management and workers was one of the problems found. This Materul saw as being partially corrected by the opening of a hotel school in Maputo. Before Independence most hotels were managed by South African and Portuguese who left the country after independence. The new courses are geared to upgrade the abilities of the managers and workers who have had to learn the business of running a hotel on their own since independence.

Inadequate accounting sections and the fact that prices charged by many hotels and restaurants are too low to cover actual costs were two other problems pointed out. The secretary also proposed measures to correct the situation created by state firms and ministries which often incurred heavy debts at various hotels or restaurants.

Many urban hotels have a large number of permanent occupants because of a city housing shortage.

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FOOD SHORTAGE CONTINUES

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effects of the drought will be felt over the following years as well.

Mozambique is the recipient of international aid destined to those countries hardest hit by drought. Canada, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the Church World Service of the United States responded to an appeal from the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator which resulted in an emergency shipment of food (1600 tons of cereals, condensed milk, vegetable oil and other items) being shipped to the province of Inhambane in early October. This followed local reports that 15 persons were dying daily from hunger in some areas of the province. The continuing drought has contributed to the food crisis in those areas where peasants traditionally depend on the crops they grow for survival.

In December the American Ambassador in Maputo, Peter John De Vos signed an agreement pledging \$98,500 to the World Food Program to aid in the transport of emergency food to Inhambane.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam offered 2,000 tons of rice. And UNICEF arranged an emergency shipment of 20

tons of medicine to be used in drought areas.

From Great Britain came a donation of 50,000 pounds from Oxfram. This followed the showing on British television of a film highlighting the extent of hunger and devastation in Gaza province where in October, 80 people were reported to have died of hunger at one relief center alone.

In the capital, Maputo, the water crisis was also severe before the rains hit. In August water levels were so low that restrictive limitations were placed on its use. Residents with access to wells and pumps were encouraged to make use of these sources instead of using water distributed by the city system. Because of the low pressure many apartment building faucets were useless and residents had to seek out street level faucets for their daily supplies. New wells are being constructed by the city.

The urgent need at this moment is more food for the populations of Gaza and Inhambane who are suffering the most because of the drought.

But rain in quantity is the only long range solution. As the posters placed around the city to remind citizens to conserve water say, "Without Water There Is No Life". ■



Women collecting water from a puddle caused by recent rain fall.

Operation Production

"Maputo is a city of at least 800,000 people. There is a work force of 325,000, and there are only 120,000 jobs." Thus, did a high level Mozambican official explain the underlying rationale for *Operation Production* - a two phased program designed to intergrate thousands of unemployed urban dwellers into communities located primarily in the fertile, but sparsely populated, northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado.

Neither the massive exodus from the countryside to the cities nor the attendant social problems which it has created are unique to Mozambique. To the contrary, throughout the entire Third World, unemployment, overcrowding, crime and food shortages have come to characterize life in the sprawling urban centers.

Drought, war and other factors have stymied Mozambique's attempt to become food sufficient. Each year Mozambique spends more money than the year before on imported foods. In 1982 there was a decline in the production of cereals which form the basis of many Mozambicans' diet. Food imported include cereals, fish and meat.

Fertile land in areas less affected by drought goes under-utilized and yield

far less than potential suggests. Provinces such as Gaza and Inhambane, which normally engaged in the food production which supplied Maputo, suffered losses as the population shifted south. Niassa is generally recognized as having the potential to turn Mozambique from an importer to an exporter of food but is sparsely populated and least developed in terms of infrastructure.

Mozambique has worked to increase food production by stimulating farming cooperatives and family farms and by improving the administration of state farms. But gross agricultural production is down. Contributing to this decline was the daily flight of peasants to the urban centers.

The Attractiveness of Urban Areas

The reasons for the shift in Mozambique's population since independence are not very different from those in other developing countries. Many moved to the urban centers to work for the central government. But many others - especially young men - responded to the images of an exciting new life in the big city, with its cinemas, sidewalk cafes, nightclubs and faster pace of

life. The city, to these youths, also represented the opportunity to make more money than they could in the countryside.

The reality of their existence proved to be quite different. Work was difficult to find. Slow industrialization and lack of raw materials meant that factory work was hard to come by. Most lacked the educational background required for office work. The result was a large unemployed, unproductive segment of the population who required food, water, clothing and shelter just as others did.

Operation Production Begins

The first phase of *Operation Production* began on June 20th of 1983 and lasted for two weeks. During this period all unemployed urban dwellers were encouraged to register at the office of their neighborhood political group. The option to select where one preferred to live was offered. Most, volunteers naturally chose their home regions. In addition the volunteers were guaranteed the necessary agricultural implements. By early July 6,000 had registered in Beira, 3,000 in Quelimane and a much larger number in Maputo.

All volunteers were promised work in any area in which they were technically proficient. In some cases families were transported jointly to their new home, in other cases men were moved first with their families and belongings to follow.

In the second compulsory phase households were visited by teams made up of representatives of various mass organizations from that neighborhood. The unemployed were referred to verification centers where each case was reviewed separately.

Return to the Rural Areas

Those recently evacuated found that workers in their new regional home were glad to see them arrive. Those who had never left spoke of the value of their lives and their work in the rural areas. Guidelines stressed that new arrivals should build their homes among those of older residents in order to not have distinctions between the two groups.

For many, the return to the rural area represented the start of a new life. It meant land on which to build a home, land for a garden and a guaranteed salaried job.

According to Maria Simas, a young mother of two resettled in Buzi with her unemployed husband, "We had thought about coming here a long time, but we didn't know how. I had said to my husband - and he agreed - that there in Beira the part-time jobs that he had, didn't guarantee us subsistence. here I have the opportunity to make a garden, while my husband goes to work to cut logs for the company factory."

Brigades from the state and party traveled to locations which received

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Cartoon published during Operation Production campaign in Maputo newspaper. It reads: "I never thought it was so good to live in the countryside." "Look!...Here we live well!... You just have to have the strength to produce... And don't forget that the countryside is the mother of the cities."

Reinforcing the Link between the People and the Police

workers to see for themselves what their situation was. At each location, the newly resettled workers voice their concerns which often centered on the desire of married men to finish their new homes so that they could send for their families, and the shortage of tools in some areas. In most districts local residents and co-workers assisted new arrivals with house building.

While thousands were settled smoothly and to their satisfaction some problems were also experienced. The most difficult involved determination of what should constitute unemployment and which of these persons should be affected by *Operation Production's* directives. As the campaign progressed guidelines were issued periodically to clarify procedure. *Operation Production* was the subject of a special session of the Maputo City Council which met in August to discuss, analyze and make proposals to solve problems detected during the first two months. Women deputies were especially critical of problems which had affected women. All members were concerned that mistakes or errors made by some should not jeopardize the success of the entire program or dampen the enthusiasm of most citizens for the program. The deputies vowed to take a more active role in the proceedings and made suggestions for modifications in the process.

By October, approximately 30,000 Mozambicans had been relocated primarily in the north. Although it is too soon to evaluate *Operation Production*, Mozambican officials point to a number of instances where the presence of former urban dwellers enabled the state farms and communal villages to harvest crops which would have otherwise perished as a result of labor shortages. At the Matama state farm in Niassa province, for example, the newcomers played a critical role harvesting several thousand tons of badly needed maize and sunflower.

In the longrun increased levels of production in the countryside depends on the workers dedication, the availability of necessary tools and equipment and the inventiveness of workers to improvise in their absence. The hope continues that *Operation Production* will make the entire country - not just the cities - a better place for all. This means the provision of consumer goods and more recreational outlets in addition to employment, food, and shelter. As one Niassa official explained after asking which of the workers resettled there knew how to run a business - "Here we also want restaurants, shops and bakeries."

As the Minister of Justice, Oscar Monteiro reminded a group of new workers at a citrus company outside Maputo "...it is from here, from the countryside that the cities so many of you like are born." ■

In Mozambique, November 5 is known as Legality Day and Day of the Popular Police of Mozambique. This year's commemoration of Machel's 1981 declaration on legality were held throughout the country. In neighborhoods all over the country thousands of citizens and police officers came together to reflect on the importance of legality to the new society.

The population was reminded that fighting against illegality was the right and duty of all citizens, and that ordinary citizens as well as police must become familiar with the normal channels of law and justice.

Citizens who were credited with the denunciation of black marketeers, thieves and other criminals in their neighborhoods were also reminded of the responsibility for understanding the legal process. Populations were encouraged to adopt methods to prevent crime as well as reporting it.

On the official level, President Machel had a meeting with a delegation of high ranking members of the Ministry of Interior (the ministry responsible for the Police Force). Machel stated that the present need is to increase the quantity and quality of the police force. He expressed the government's belief that those who are police officers should possess special qualities including the spirit of sacrifice, courtesy and efficiency and recommended that a police school be set up in 1984.

On November 5, 1981 President Samora Machel had addressed a large



"Now I feel relieved. My husband already has employment." Virginia Pencela after her family's return to a rural area.

gathering in Maputo and ordered those responsible for upholding the law - the heads of the Police Force and the Army, the Security Minister, and the Minister of Justice - "to detect and remove those infiltrators, the corrupt, the undisciplined, those who abuse power, those who disrespect and mistreat the people, those who use the prestige and the functions of the Defense and Security Forces to satisfy personal interests."

"These infiltrators," declared Armando Guebuza, current Minister of the Interior, on the first anniversary of Machel's speech, "use the power that was given to them to mistreat the people and put in jeopardy the respect the people have and nourish in relation to the FRELIMO party and the Government and in relation to the people who have the task of guaranteeing the security of persons everywhere."

As a result in 1981, more than 150 members of the police force accused of violating the law were expelled and a new system for the selection of future police officers was instituted.

Popular participation is viewed as crucial to guaranteeing that legality is upheld and respected. Machel's 1981 speech was important because it placed the government and the people together on the side of law and isolated those members of the Security and Defense forces who misused the authority of their uniforms or security I.D. cards.

In President Machel's meeting with Interior Ministry officials this year, he stressed the importance of recognizing and eliminating problems within the police force, but he was careful to point out the advancements which had been made since independence in the establishment of a police force which truly served the interests of the people.

"The Portuguese did not leave behind Mozambican Policemen who understood law or had sensibilities for social questions. And it is from nothing that we are forming our police." ■

Announcement

The New York Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition and the Hunter College Day Session Student Government are presenting a Music Against Apartheid concert on February 17, at Hunter College Auditorium in New York City. Featured artists are jazz musicians Noel Pointer, Roy Ayers and Sonny Foryune. Proceeds are to be used to purchase medical supplies for refugees from South Africa and Namibia. For further information call (212) 283-4878 or (212) 234-1334.

Americans in Mozambique

Nina Swaim was a cooperante in Mozambique for six months in 1981. During that time she worked under a joint contract from the Ministry of Public Works And Housing and OMM (The Mozambican Women's Organization) on a project to investigate women's awareness of water hygiene and sanitation and to investigate the potential of women themselves to improve problems relating to use of water. Nina is a freelance writer currently living in Norwich, Vermont.

I arrived in Maputo on April 2, 1981 only weeks after an incident in the suburbs of that capital city. Twelve refugees from South Africa were shot and killed in their home by South Africans who crossed the border for that purpose. Reports from the South African media described it as a raid on the headquarters of the African National Congress, the liberation movement within South Africa. Shortly after the raid, six members of the American Embassy were forced to leave their posts in Mozambique because of their alleged involvement in the planning of that raid, but the primary blame for the raid was placed on South Africa.

In May, I was assigned to work in the central part of the country along the Zimbabwe border. I was told I was going to an area that only recently had become safe for travel, much less for foreign workers like myself. Zimbabwe had become independent of white Rhodesian rule in 1980 and before independence the border between Mozambique and Zimbabwe had been an open battlefield between Rhodesian military and liberation forces fleeing their country. Exploding land mines and air raids were daily occurrences for the peasants in that area. Since independence, the area was considered safe and a major focus by the Mozambique government for assistance and support to the local residents.

I traveled freely during my five-month work schedule and was given introductory letters by the Mozambican government so that my work would be understood and supported by the local population. I also went through countless checkpoints which were set up along the roads for the security of the population; it was still necessary to identify people for safety reasons. Often, while working in areas where former Rhodesian military personnel were last seen, I was escorted by armed government officials. As I moved close to the areas that were not considered completely rid of outside forces, I came to understand what it is like to live with the fear of a raid or a takeover by a foreign force.

Women described to me their reluctance to leave the confines of their homes because of the very real potential of rape or outright killing. Almost every village I visited knew what it was like to have strangers forcefully procure food and village members for their own needs or pleasures. The villages now, however, felt safe. Finally the people could get down to the business of building village schools and health posts, producing food to feed their families, and learning the concept of communal village living that the government of Mozambique promoted.

My work in the villages was demanding and sometimes frustrating, but it was a moving experience. Sometimes I was the only white woman within 100 kilometers, many times the first white person the villagers had ever seen. The terrain, the food, the climate and the way people went about their daily lives was almost entirely new to me. Initially, when I arrived in a village I was treated with active curiosity and sometimes fear, but once my work was explained to the villagers, their openness and helpfulness seemed to flow effortlessly.

I was there to do research on the women's perspective of their village water needs, their understanding of water sanitation and hygiene, and the potential for organizing the women to solve village water problems. The area had been one of the hardest hit by the 1979 drought. Since women are the water bearers in that society the information they gave me was invaluable for the government's water resource planning.

None of the women had ever had such a person as me probe into their daily lives. Reflecting on it later I am honored at their trust and willingness to help when, less than a year before, the presence of a white person was reason to fear for their lives. They saw me as a worker for their government and their response to me said a lot about how they felt about their government.

Since my return to this country in October of 1981, there have been several significant incidences in Mozambique which have reminded me of the realities that Mozambique must face as a neighbor to South Africa.

The first occurred last fall. Three women from a rural village (not unlike the 40 that I visited and within a day's drive from the area where I worked) returned from their farms with their ears cut off. The women said they had been ambushed by the Mozambique National Resistance. This movement was formed in 1976 to harass Zimbabwe liberation forces in the area, and was believed to be composed of ex-Portuguese and Rhodesian military personnel. Since

Zimbabwe won its independence, they have centered their activities around destabilization in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Terrorizing villagers so that they do not feel free to go about their regular activities — like providing food for themselves — is one form of destabilization. Women are the primary producers of food in Mozambican society as well as in most of Africa. If they are not able to safely travel to their farms, which sometimes are located 10 to 20 kilometers from their villages, their food supply is cut off. This form of destabilization is very effective on rural populations and it also disrupts the work of the Mozambican government in mobilizing the people to improve their lives. Because of the insecurity in the area, the most important activity now becomes security rather than developing their economy and social structures.

In December and again in June and July of 1982, the government of Mozambique announced that it had successfully routed two major strongholds of the MNR located in the south and north of where I worked. What was uncovered in both raids revealed what was long suspected, but now is proven — South Africa's direct involvement with MNR. Highly sophisticated artillery and weapons, a landing strip and fuel for South African supplied helicopters, and copies of direct communications with South African military personnel were the most notable discoveries. One base has a letter from a South African colonel who ordered MNR units to ambush roads, attack rail lines within the country and sabotage the Mozambique-Zimbabwe pipeline. Destabilization programs by MNR aimed at terrorizing the population are expanding to destroy the economic and commercial infrastructures of the country.

Without two of their base camps, the MNR members lost a significant amount of logistical support. What followed were a series of kidnappings, robberies and murders by isolated MNR members in order for them to obtain food, money and movement in the area. Two foreign workers, under the same kind of government contract as I was under, were kidnapped and subsequently killed in the district where I worked.

In 1982, I received a letter from the man who supervised my work in Mozambique. I will quote directly from him: "The security situation has deteriorated a lot since you were here, and although there are reports of advances from time to time, the situation is very worrying. The South Africans seem to have taken over the running of the little group that used to operate the odd raids out of Malawi. Last week they blew up the water pipeline which supplies Beira. If they start on that line of attack, they'll find quite a few cities are very vulnerable, not the least, Maputo." It has been almost three years since I lived and worked in Mozambique, yet the stories coming out of that country about South Africa's destabilization

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MOZAMBICAN NOTES welcomes our readers to the second issue of our newsletter and thank you for the interest shown our introductory newsletter published in September. Because our staff is committed to providing our readers with detailed, in-depth information about Mozambique not otherwise available in the U.S. we have opted to publish MOZAMBICAN NOTES quarterly. We are expanding our format to accommodate more information not only about Mozambique but the surrounding area as well.

AMERICANS IN MOZAMBIQUE

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program against Mozambique draws me quickly back to my time there. I see individual people, villages, and farming plots. I hear the children's voices when they sing the Mozambican national anthem at the beginning of their school day. I walk with the women to their farms and they describe to me their hopes for a better crop next year to feed their families. I take my water bucket with them to the village wells and I remember how they giggle as their hands reach out to help me balance the 10 gallon bucket on my head. And especially, I hear an old woman tell me that the best thing about life since her country's independence is that she, her children and her grandchildren are all learning to read for the first time. And I feel sad and angry that these same people and many more now fear for their lives because of the increased destabilization programs directed from South Africa. ■

TOURISM

(Continued from page 3)

Many workers transferred from one area to another find themselves living in hotels. These hotels are now being evacuated as new housing is found for the residents. Hotels are being reclassified to better reflect the actual condition of the establishment.

The Secretary saw the development of the tourism industry as being connected to development in other sectors - especially in the areas of general supplies, transportation, gasoline supply, and the availability of construction materials.

Terrorism instigated by South African backed armed groups in Mozambique has meant that traveling freely around Mozambique by road or rail to tourist resorts in provinces such as Inhambane, Sofala and Tete is at times difficult. But in spite of the many difficulties encountered, Mozambique is determined to improve the conditions which limit its full realization of tourism in Mozambique. ■

MACHEL VISITS EUROPE

During the first three weeks of October, President Machel led a high level delegation on a visit to six European countries. Spending from two to five days in each country, the delegation visited Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Yugoslavia, France and England.

In Belgium, the President met with King Balvino and other high officials of the Belgium government. During these talks the two countries reaffirmed their desire to continue the cooperation already existing between the two. The President also held talks with members of the European Economic Community (EEC) at their headquarters as well as with members of the Commission of African, Caribbean and Pacific States. Machel praised the EEC for its support and interest in SADCC activities.

In his talks before members of the Commission, Mozambique's leader expressed Mozambique's interest in being admitted to this organization which is connected to the EEC by the Lome Convention. Mozambique, which is an observer in the economic organization of socialist countries (COMECON) does not believe that its participation in one organization precludes its interest in the other. Mozambique sees its desire to be involved with the Lome Convention group as a way to diversify and expand cooperation and develop relationships with other countries.

The Mozambican delegation were received in Holland by Prime Minister Lubbers and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Van Den Broek.

Machel is said to have asked for greater Dutch involvement in long term projects in Mozambique. In Holland, Machel also met with non-governmental organizations which supported the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

At the airport in Lisbon, the Mozambican delegation was met by the President and Prime Minister of Portugal and a large crowd made up of Portuguese citizens. In Portugal, Mozambique's President had meetings with officials and groups of Portuguese citizens including a group of businessmen.

In Portugal President Machel visited cities in both the north and center of the country. Throughout the country he was well received by local citizens. The visit marked the Presidents' first visit to Portugal since independence and is seen by many as an indication of better relations between the two countries.

Mozambique also announced that it was revising its foreign investments code and that Portugal would receive preferential treatment status.

In the Yugoslav capital, The Mozambican President and his delegation were met by President Spiljak. The visit to Yugoslavia was made at the invitation of President Spiljak to deepen the friendship and bilateral co-

operation between the two countries.

At a dinner offered in his honor Machel reflected on the "friendship, sympathy and solidarity" extended to Mozambique by that country. - "yesterday, in the fraternal and unconditional support for the Mozambican people in their struggle against colonial domination and today, in the active participation in the reconstruction of the People's Republic of Mozambique."

According to Mozambican news sources, the situation in southern Africa was again the subject of much of the conversation, as it was at a meeting with members of the diplomatic corps stationed there. President Machel had a separate meeting with ambassadors from African countries at which he is reported to have exhorted them to all be representatives of SWAPO, of Namibia and of the southern African region.

From Yugoslavia the Mozambican delegation traveled to France where they spent two days. On the first day, Presidents Machel and Francois Mitterrand held talks. TEMPO magazine of Mozambique cited official sources in Paris as stating that the visit to Paris could "substantially augment the economic co-operation between the two countries."

In France, Machel and his delegation met with the ministers of External Commerce and Tourism, Transportation, Cooperation and Foreign affairs in addition to the secretary-generals of the communist and Socialist parties. It was reported that France may begin giving some form of military aid to Mozambique. During the discussions with the French, France's position on Namibia and South Africa figured prominently.

The main theme of the Mozambican delegation's visit to England was the situation in southern Africa and economic co-operation. The Financial Times of London is quoted as stating that the major obstacle to private investment by the British in Mozambique is not the ideology of the government but the fears of instability in the region. President Machel was received by Queen Elizabeth and met with leaders of the House of Commons. There were extensive conversations between the Mozambican leader and Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In an official communique of the Council of Ministers released in Maputo after the European visit the political results were considered to be very positive. To quote from the document: these visits permitted the consolidation of relationships which existed already between States and to identify reciprocal areas of interest for the development of economic, commercial, military, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. In the conversa-

(Continued on page 9)

Samora Machel

EPISODES FROM LIFE

President Machel's 50th birthday was celebrated throughout Mozambique during the month of September with voluntary work campaigns, cultural programs and announcements of new projects by various groups. TEMPO magazine devoted an issue to recollections of Samora Moises Machel-the child, the man, the fighter, the leader -by those who know him. What follows are excerpts from a 1974 interview with Machel which appears in that issue.

We publish it because we believe that talks about the experiences not only of Machel but of the People as a whole. "I did not know my grandparents, neither maternal nor paternal. But I had the luck to know those who knew my paternal grandfather who in around 1920 was already more than 100 years old. He was a soldier in the resistance wars against Portuguese invasion. My parents told me that he had many bullet wounds. My father use to tell me stories about the brutality of the invasion, its inhumanity, how the invaders treated the people who were captured. In this way, when I was a child, I was educated in the spirit of resistance. My father told us these things for us to understand certain phenomena that was happening, in particular in the region where we lived."

Samora Machel talked about the influence of the old men in the area on his education as a revolutionary. One in particular was a Methodist pastor with whom he lived during the school year because the minister's house was closer to the mission school than his parents' home.

"These old protestants were always persecuted. They participated in the war of resistance against the occupation of our country by colonialism. When they became protestants it was a form of resistance. It was they who inspired us, these elders from here. We were not born from nothing. The constant spirit of struggle, struggle, struggle,... It was these elders who taught us. They talked with us and said: It is necessary to combat the Portuguese, they are foreigners. It was they who taught us. We could not have learned this anywhere else. Books about Marx never arrived here, neither did any other book talking against colonialism. Our books were these old men. It was them who taught us what colonialism was, the evils of colonialism, what the colonialists did when they entered here. They were our source of inspiration. Never betray, said these elders. Never betray in time of war. Because of this we never gave up."

Machel also spoke of the role of shopkeepers in the region.

"I am going to tell you what made me aware of what was exploration. Those stores belonged to two shopkeepers

Antonio and Joao. At the same time that stores were banks, post offices,... these storekeepers corrupted the administration. When people traded their products here, they were obliged to buy this and that... they could not take all the money. It was a network well mounted. The people had to buy clothes, liquors, etc. and it was they who fixed the price that they wanted. The shopkeepers became cattle-raisers, robbing them through wine. They took their workers in three trucks and would go from house to house, looking for whoever had drunk wine the night before... They would say: you drank a bottle of 20 liters and did not pay. It was in this way that they became cattle ranchers, the bandits. With the money that they gained here, they constructed houses and buildings in Maputo. Here (in the district) they never did any developing..."

Machel's oldest brother was killed in South Africa in 1944. In the same interview he recalled what working in the mines meant.

"The men were sold for the mines of South Africa. And when they were there, the women were taken for road work, for six months, in the construction of roads, or in construction work for shopkeepers, or on the plantations of European farmers. I lost many relatives in South Africa. Some returned with tuberculosis, mutilated, blind, completely useless and without compensation. Others died in South Africa, including my oldest brother. When he died in the mines, my father received a note which said that he should go there and receive an indemnification of 40 pounds. But it said also that they would not give all of the indemnification immediately. My father received only 10 pounds and the other 30 stayed in the administration's safe, where he was to go from time to time soliciting small quantities to the extent necessary. It is clear that he never received any indemnity. Forty pound indemnification for the death of a man, an accident in the mines. Still in addition to this, my father had to sign a form declaring having received a total of 40 pounds."

And about his experience in the school system which was available to Africans during colonialism.

"When it lacked 15 days before the 4th class exam, they said to me: Either you are baptized or you leave the mission. The Sisters of Charity and the Father came to see me and told me this. It lacked only 15 days. I had already submitted my papers. I accepted. I was baptized and christened. They gave me many presents, cloth with the face of St. Francisco Xavier, etc. They were satisfied because they had converted a Protestant. They had gained flock. This was in 1950.

"Afterwards I thought: well I made



"My experience is not isolated. It is the experience of all of us," - Samora Machel, Mozambique's president.

the 4th Class as a brilliant student, I will go to the secondary school or at least to the commercial school - Sa da Bandeira - technical school. When I made the application for there, the Fathers came to see me and said: Go to the seminary, go the Magude to the junior seminary. I said: No. I won't go. I want to go to the secondary school, it is normal. I don't want anything of the seminary.

"Then they went to talk with the administrator, they blocked everything, and I was not allowed to enter the secondary school. I went to Lourenco Marques but could not arrange things. The Fathers blocked me. I returned to Xai-Xai in 1951, practiced as a nurse. Then in 1952, I went to Miguel Bombardo Hospital in Lourenco Marques to take a course in nursing."

As he concluded his interview in 1974 he remarked on the common experience.

"My experience is not an isolated experience. It is the experience of all of us Mozambicans. All of us have this experience of life under colonialism. In 1961 and 1962, we had sad moments of anguish, with the persecutions which occurred at the PIDE installations. Some of my friends were prisoners. They were less vigilante, less cautious, they wanted to confront colonialism only with words... But who laughs last, laughs best. Today, we are one people, and not a Portuguese people, but a Mozambican people. And we are constructing our destiny with our own hands." ■

THE FOUNDING OF FRELIMO

Conclusion

(Continued from September issue)

One group, including Nkavandame and Gwenjere, enjoying at least the tacit support of Uria Simango, the FRELIMO Vice-President, took a narrow nationalist posture. For them the ultimate objective was to create an independent black nation run by a privileged black elite which would replace the white colonial elite. Indeed, peasants in the liberated zones increasingly complained that Nkavandame, who was Director of the Department of Commerce, was siphoning off profits from FRELIMO's peoples' stores, speculating in products in short supply, and exploiting labor in his private field.

In opposition stood the majority of the Central Committee led by Marcelino dos Santos, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Samora Machel, head of the army, Joaquim Chissano, a senior member of the Executive Committee, and President Mondlane, who had been radicalized by the struggle. Although Mondlane initially sought to maintain the unity of the movement, by 1968 he had come to recognize its futility. The revolutionary faction argued that Lisbon's defeat would mark only the first step in transforming Mozambican society, and it saw the experiences of the liberated zones as establishing a model, however embryonic, for the way in which collective action and ownership could lead to a more equitable distribution of Mozambique's resources. It rejected the notion that a privileged elite should guide the country and appropriate its wealth.

At the Second Party Congress held in July 1968 Mondlane and his allies prevailed. Despite the staunch opposition of Nkavandame, the Congress was held in liberated Niassa province, Mondlane was reelected President, and the Central Committee's size was doubled from twenty to forty. New members came almost exclusively from popularly elected constituencies inside Mozambique and the military—both of whom supported the revolutionary position. The enlarged Central Committee adopted a new program emphasizing the eradication of all forms of social and economic inequality and committing FRELIMO to forge ahead with the process of national reconstruction begun in the liberated zones.

Although defeated, the minority faction led by Nkavandame was not prepared to yield power without a struggle. A few weeks later Nkavandame organized a meeting of FRELIMO

dissidents' in southern Tanzania where he elaborated his plan to establish a splinter organization. In December the Deputy Chief of the Defense Department, Paulo Samuel Kankhomba, was assassinated. Nkavandame was identified by FRELIMO as the culprit, and on January 3, 1969, he was stripped of all his responsibilities. A month later a letter bomb killed President Mondlane at his office in Dar es-Salaam. Nkavandame, along with Silverio Nungu, a senior FRELIMO member, was implicated in the assassination which had been orchestrated by the Portuguese secret police. He fled across the border with the help of PIDE agents and defected to the colonial regime. In May 1970 the Central Committee elected Samora Machel President and Marcelino dos Santos Vice President of FRELIMO.

Like his assassinated predecessor, Samora Machel came from a family steeped in a long tradition of anti-colonial struggle. His grandparents and great-grandparents fought in the wars of resistance at the end of the nineteenth century in southern Mozambique, and his paternal grandfather was one of the leading figures in the Maguigane rebellion in 1896. His family also suffered for its outspoken opposition. Both maternal grandparents were deported to Sao Tome where they died in exile.

When FRELIMO was formed, Machel fled Mozambique and joined the movement rising quickly within its ranks. In 1963 he went with a small group of militants to Algeria for military training and, after his return to Tanzania, he was placed in charge of FRELIMO's first military training camp. In this capacity he played a central role in planning and organizing the initial phase of the armed struggle. A year later he directed the military campaign in the eastern sector of Niassa, and in 1966, after the death of FRELIMO's first Defense Secretary Filipe Magaia, he took over this post. In the hotly contested ideological debates within the Central Committee to which he was soon after elected, Machel was aligned with Eduardo Mondlane and Marcelino dos Santos, emerging as one of the principal protagonists of the revolutionary nationalist position. The selection of Machel as President and dos Santos as Vice President marked the final victory for the forces of revolutionary nationalism and set the stage for a more explicit adoption of a socialist agenda.

Between the end of 1969 and 1973 the principles and practices developed in the liberated zones were formalized and the war zone extended. FRELIMO's clearer ideological stance facilitated the destruction of the last vestiges of traditional authority. It also highlighted the fact that a black bourgeoisie, if left unchecked, could coopt and ultimately

destroy the revolution. The need to emancipate women received greater emphasis, and advances were made in the fields of health and education. On the military front, guerrilla forces blunted the much-heralded Portuguese defensives and expanded their operations in Tete province and, for the first time, began making significant inroads in the southern half of the country. FRELIMO's front in Manica and Sofala not only threatened the white settler highlands but also Beira, the colony's second largest city. Not even substantial aid from the West, including \$435 million from the U.S., could prop up the colonial regime.

By the end of 1973 freedom fighters were operating only 400 miles from Lourenco Marques and growing opposition to the war paralyzed the colonial army and set the stage in Portugal for the coup of the armed forces movement which overthrew the authoritarian regime of Marcello Caetano on April 24, 1974. In prolonged and difficult negotiations FRELIMO unequivocally rejected the attempts of the new Portuguese government to impose a "neo-colonial solution." On September 7, 1974, the Lusaka agreement was signed establishing a transitional FRELIMO-dominated government and guaranteeing Mozambican independence on June 25, 1975.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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MOZAMBIQUE: FROM COLONIALISM TO REVOLUTION 1900-1982 by Allen and Barbara Isaacman provides a comprehensive background for understanding events in Mozambique today. In addition to valuable historic information it also contains present day accounts of Mozambique's effort to build a new socialist society. Softback copies of the book are available to newsletter subscribers for \$8.00 from the Mozambican Resource center.

MACHEL VISITS EUROPE

(Continued from page 7)

tions which were held as in the meetings with businessmen, we clarified that there is interest in the People's Republic of Mozambique in co-operating with all countries on the basis of reciprocal benefits, equality and mutual respect. We demonstrated also that there are advantages in co-operating with Mozambique and the independent countries of southern Africa.

news briefs

SUBCOMMISSION OF 'THE FIVE' MEET

In October the subcommissions on Transportation and Commerce of a group known as 'The Five' met in Maputo. It was the first meeting of these subcommissions which are part of a organization made up of the five former Portuguese colonies - Angola, Cape Verde, Guine-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. During the meeting proposals for co-operation were formulated to be presented to a meeting of the heads of states of the five countries involved for approval.

Each state presented a report on the status of transportation - concentrating on air and shipping capacities. The group agreed to exchange delegations among themselves and to increase co-operation in the training of professionals connected with transportation, increase technical co-operation and create more harmonious transportation legislature among themselves.

The Angolan chairperson of the sub-commission of Transportation stated that he would recommend the signing of bilateral accords similar to those approved previously by 'The Five' and that the group should consolidate their actions at international meetings for their common interest.

The chairperson of the Commerce Subcommission from Sao Tome and Principe stressed the importance of 'The Five' making commercial exchanges among themselves of goods and equipment a priority. Items which were listed included rice, sugar, corn, milk and medicines.

Banking and financing issues which also affect commerce between 'The Five' were deferred to a future meeting of the Finance Subcommission.

LAND RE-DISTRIBUTED TO FIGHT HUNGER

Since last June more than 1500 families in the Namacurra district of Zambezi province have each received a parcel of land for the cultivation of cassava. Each family received approximately 2 1/2 acres with the promise that they would actually farm it. More than 500 other families received land to grow cassava, wheat and beans. Land is also being distributed to other families to grow rice and sweet potatoes with seeds and small farming equipment being arranged by the City Council of the districts' headquarters.

Those residents who own tractors have been mobilized to support the families with new plots and AGRICOM - a state agriculture firm is providing a large quantity of hoes.

Throughout the country idle or underutilized land not affected by the drought was handed over to families willing to work it.

In Manhica district of the Maputo province more than 2500 families had received plots of land in September with the distribution continuing. The plots involved are fertile lands near the base of the Incomati River. Much of the valley land distributed was formerly used by colonists to produce rice. One of the needs of the families taking over the new plots is boots for working in the wetness.

According to one peasant who received land, Liasse Cohohnuana, "Although we have other farm lands, we prefer these due to their fertility and humidity. We also expect to be supported now that we have started organized cultivation." It is envisioned that associations of family farmers will be formed for the channeling of the support needed and to deal with the lack of tractors and other equipment.

GOSPEL SINGERS PERFORM IN MOZAMBIQUE

A trio of gospel singers from the US recently gave three well attended performances in Mozambique. Although jazz is known and appreciated in many areas of the country, gospel singing was quite new for the thousands who turned out to hear the Barrett Sisters perform. The Barrett Sisters who are on their first African tour, also performed in Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

NEW BABY FORMULA DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM ANNOUNCED

In December a new system for the distribution of artificial milk for babies was announced which encourages mother to breast feed their babies as opposed to using powdered milk formulas when possible. During colonialism many Mozambican women came to believe that the manufactured milk formulas used by Portuguese mothers were superior to the mother's own milk. After independence many women began to use the artificial milk as the only source of nutrition for their babies. To stretch the expensive canned products, some mothers used more water than required. Often the water used was not purified. But more important, research done in this country has proven that even when used as instructed the benefits are far less those received from natural milk.

The new regulations limit the sale of artificial milk to those mothers who are not able to nurse their baby for health

reasons, orphans, mothers who work or study (after the second month), or mothers of twins. Baby cereal is available to all mothers when their child is between five and fifteen months old.

TRADITIONAL GAMES REVIVED

As special cultural and sporting activities were held throughout the country to celebrate the fiftieth birthday of President Machel, the Maputo newspaper NOTICIAS sponsored national championships of two traditional games. The first annual championships of N'Tchuva and Muravarava, traditional Mozambican games akin to chess or checkers were held in Maputo during the week of September 25.

N'tchuva is a game, which originates in the southern Mozambican provinces of Gaza, Maputo and Inhambane, can be played directly on the ground or on a board which has a minimum of eight cups or holes cut into the playing surface. The game can be played with additional cups in multiples of eight.

Muravarava can also be played either directly on the ground or on a square board which has a layout somewhat similar to chinese checkers.

Both games have as their object the capture of the other players' chips or stones through strategic moves around the board. Both games are also distinguished by their use of paired contestants - one who makes the moves and one who advises what moves to make.

Clearly the significance of a championship for traditional games goes beyond the awarding of prizes to the two young winners. Such a revitalization of traditional games is in the interest of the Revolution. They preserve a people's past, a nation's memory and knowledge and are also a way of uniting the country's many cultural groups.



N'tchuva was one of the two games played at championship tournament of traditional games.

FRIENDS and NEIGHBORS

FRONT LINE STATES MEET

Heads of government of the Front Line States met in Lusaka in November. The main topic of discussion was the progress of talks on Namibia. Present were the presidents of Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Angola, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Botswana and observers from SWAPO and the ANC of South Africa.

One of the objectives of the meeting was to prepare for the upcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held in India. The meeting which lasted four and a half hours include a broad discussion of the situation in southern Africa and reports on visits to Europe by President Machel and Prime Minister Mugabe. At the meeting Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere stressed the necessity to denounce the silence that has surrounded the fact that South African troops currently occupy territory inside Angola. He condemned the fact that attention is focused on Cuban troops which were invited by the Angolan government and not on the South African troops which are the real illegal occupants. The meeting of heads of state also condemned the escalation of South African aggressions against Front Line States. The final communique expressed the hope that the Commonwealth Conference seriously considers the problems of peace and security in southern Africa.

SECRETARY GENERAL REPORTS ON NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE PROGRESS

Following a report given by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar on his visit to southern Africa in August, the Security Council adopted Resolution 539 on October 27. This resolution requires the South African regime to communicate to the U.N. body its acceptance of one of the two election systems presently being discussed for Namibia and rejects South Africa's insistence on the 'linkage' issue which SWAPO has also firmly rejected. It condemns the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in violation of U.N. Resolution 435 and stated that in the case of non-compliance on the part of South Africa with the resolution that the Security Council would consider taking appropriate measures against South Africa as provided for in the U.N. charter.

Previously, the South African regime had also objected to the suggested make-up of the military component of UNTAG (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) whose responsibility it will be to monitor the cease-fire in Namibia.

In his report back to the Security Council in December, as called for by the Resolution, the Secretary General announced that he was unsuccessful in

getting the South African government to respond on the question of election system or cooperate in moving towards Namibia independence. South Africa's stance is seen by many to be a continuation of the diplomatic games played by a regime with no serious interest in negotiating for peace in Namibia.

Meanwhile, France announced that it would suspend its participation in meetings of the Contact Group (which includes the United States, Britain, Canada and West Germany) as long as issues outside of Resolution 435 are raised. Their differences with the other countries over the issue of 'linkage' is thought to be one of the principle reasons for their action.

DOCUMENTS SHOWING DESTABILIZATION PLAN FOR ZIMBABWE REVEALED

Mozambican reporter Alves Gomes writing in TEMPO magazine in November revealed the existence of documents which expose the establishment of military camps inside South Africa devoted to the training of young Zimbabweans recruited or kidnapped who would later participate in destabilization operations inside Zimbabwe. Those targeted for recruitment includes Zimbabweans visiting or living in South Africa and Botswana, former members of Muzorewa's auxiliaries and former members of the ZIPRA wing of ZAPU. The purpose of the trained armed groups would be to provoke inside Zimbabwe acts of economic and social instability in much the same way as the MNR is currently trying to do inside Mozambique. One document is said to refer to the coordination of hostile groups in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Besides Pharaborwa, a camp used for the training of armed Mozambican bands in 1980, the documents also talk of four new camp sites along the Limpopo on the South African side created by former Rhodesian soldiers, but now run by South Africa military and intelligence personell. One of the documents which included photographs, talked of a meeting which took place near Pretoria in September between South African military officials and a 'Commandant' Wela, (with past ZAPU connections) who was presented as the chief of the so called 'dissidents' of Zimbabwe. Jonas Savimbi of UNITA was reportedly present at the meeting.

The response to these revelations by Mozambique and Zimbabwe has been to continue and strengthen their joint military operations against the South African backed armed bands who threaten hostile acts in both countries.

SADCC ACTIVITIES

In August Tanzania and Malawi signed an agreement to establish and to

develop transportation systems and carriers for trade and commerce between the two countries. The agreement rose out of the two nations' participation in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. Malawi's participation in both SADCC and this particular trade and transportation agreement is significant because of its generally conservative foreign policy and in particular because its trade and political relations with South Africa.

CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA

In early December four columns of South African troops mounted an offensive into the Angolan province of Huila. On December 14, a clash occurred between the South African aggressors and Angolan troops near Mulonga. As recent as January 3, another attack is reported to have taken place near Cuvelia, 120 miles inside Angolan territory. According to Ambassador Elisio Figueiro, Angola's permanent representative to the United Nations, these acts constitute "a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and constitutes a danger to international peace and security."

In light of recent South African aggressions against Angola, the Security Council on January 6, adopted Resolution 546 with a vote of 13-0 (with the U.S. and Britain abstaining). This resolution calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and for the cease of all South African military actions against Angola. The Resolution affirms Angola's right to call on assistance to better fight against aggression of the racist regime against the independent Angolan state and recognizes Angola's right to compensation from South Africa for damages incurred. The resolution required that the Secretary General report back to the Security Council by January 10. In the event that South Africa fails to comply with Resolution 545 and 546, the Security Council will meet to consider more stringent measures as provided for under the U.N. charter.

Announcement

From Chicago comes information of a material aids drive to benefit recipients in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania. Margaret Burroughs of the Du Sable Museum in Chicago has organized the African Aid Project to collect clothing, toys, school supplies and books to send. The African Aid Project is also interested in sending toothbrushes, tooth paste, needles, combs, thread and other small items. The ANC and SWAPO will also be recipients of this project. For information contact Margaret Burroughs, Du Sable Museum, 740 East 56th Place, Chicago, ILL. 60637.

Mozambique and South Africa Talk

Following a one day meeting in late December, Mozambique and South Africa announced that the two countries had established four commissions that would begin holding a series of bilateral talks in mid-January on the issues of security, economic relations, tourism, and the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric dam.

The key to the talks, for both sides, is the security issue.

In announcing that the talks would be taking place, Mozambican President Samora Machel reported that "in the context of our policy of peace, good neighborliness and coexistence with the countries of our zone, we have been making contacts with the South African authorities with a view to reducing tensions in our region and to defining rules for a normal and peaceful relationship between two neighboring states."

Machel went on to reaffirm that the establishment of good relations between South Africa and Mozambique required South Africa to stop supporting the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which, he said, "the Pretoria regime recruits, trains, finances, equips and directs to launch criminal actions against our sovereign state."

The Maputo-based daily *Noticias*, commenting on the talks just after

they began in mid-January, noted Mozambique desire for "peace and coexistence" with South Africa. "Geographic location is something that can't be changed. Neighbors can't be changed," the newspaper said in an editorial which went on to point out that there must be peace between two countries that share the same frontier, even though they have different social systems and other contradictions exist between them.

"The negotiations are necessary to make sure that people are living by the norms of international law," the paper said, going on to outline four main points for the discussions:

- Territorial integrity
- Non-violation of frontiers
- Non-interference in internal affairs
- Assurances from both countries that no one of the two states will be used as a platform for violence against the other.

South Africa, in its comments on the talks stressed the security issue. "South Africa has only one rule," said Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, "which is that its neighbors must stop harboring terrorists. We shall not deviate from that even if it brings us into contact with the whole world." In the past South Africa has claimed that its attacks on Mozambique were aimed

only at eliminating "ANC bases." At the same time the Mozambican government and the ANC leadership have maintained that ANC military bases are only in South Africa.

What South Africa seeks, Botha explained, is a "mutual nonaggression pact," in which Pretoria would curb the activities of the MNR in return for Mozambique doing the same with the ANC.

President Machel, however, in his statement following the December meeting, reaffirmed Mozambique's support for the ANC: "The People's Republic of Mozambique has reaffirmed the principles of our socialist policy of peace, firmly condemning the system of apartheid and the bantustan policy, and restating our political, diplomatic and moral support for the ANC, which fights for democracy, which fights against racial discrimination and for equality between all races in South Africa."

"The ANC enjoys the unconditional support of all true lovers of peace, social justice and progress," Machel said, "included among whom are the Mozambican people."

Following the first round of talks in Maputo on economic relations on Jan. 16, the two sides issued a joint statement saying the talks took place in a "constructive atmosphere." They discussed transport, migrant labor, agriculture, fisheries, industries and commerce, finance, tourism and energy, the joint statement said. ■

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